

SEPTEMBER 7, 1976

"DIPLOMACY FOR A CROWDED WORLD" BY GEORGE BALL

ANNCR: THE VOICE OF AMERICA BRINGS YOU ANOTHER IN THE WEEKLY SERIES ... FROM THE BOOKSHELF ... A SERIES IN WHICH WE REPORT ON BOOKS AMERICANS ARE READING. TODAY, JOHN ALBERT'S REPORT ON "DIPLOMACY FOR A CROWDED WORLD" BY GEORGE BALL, PUBLISHED BY LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY. HERE IS BOOK EDITOR \_\_\_\_\_.

EDITOR: GEORGE BALL HAD A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED CAREER IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS. HE SERVED IN THE SECOND HIGHEST POST IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND BRIEFLY REPRESENTED HIS COUNTRY AS U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS. AS A PROMINENT MEMBER OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION, MISTER BALL ARGUED AGAINST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM. HIS BOOK, TAKES STRONG ISSUE WITH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON AND FORD AND CRITICIZES THE ROLE HENRY KISSINGER HAS PLAYED IN BOTH ADMINISTRATIONS. IT DESERVES MAJOR ATTENTION. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF GEORGE BALL'S CREDENTIALS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE THE AUTHOR IS ONE OF THE MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADVISORS TO DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE JIMMY CARTER AND IS OFTEN MENTIONED AS A POSSIBLE SECRETARY OF STATE IN A CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

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T.

SO, WHETHER THE READER AGREES WITH GEORGE BALL'S WHOLESAL CONDEMNATION OF THE KISSINGER POLICIES AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFIARS OR NOT, THIS BOOK AMOUNTS TO A LEARNED CRITIC'S BRIEF FOR CHANGE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

EDITOR: MISTER BALL GIVES HENRY KISSINGER CREDIT IN CERTAIN KEY  
(CONT) AREAS OF POLICY, BUT ARGUES THAT THE SECRETARY'S ACTIVITIES  
HAVE BEEN DIRECTED LARGELY AT CORRECTING PAST MISTAKES.  
HERE IS A SAMPLE OF THE BALL CRITICISM:

VOICE: "THE PROCESS BY WHICH IT (AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY) SOUGHT  
TO DISENGAGE THE UNITED STATES FROM VIETNAM WAS CLUMSY,  
INSENSITIVE, EXCESSIVELY PROTRACTED, AND EXORBITANTLY  
COSTLY. ITS OPENING OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH CHINA -- A  
LONG OVERDUE MOVE -- WAS THEATRICAL AND GRATUITOUSLY  
HARMFUL TO OUR OTHER RELATIONSHIPS, JUST AS ITS EFFORTS  
TO IMPROVE THE DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION WERE  
CONDUCTED WITH TOO LITTLE ATTENTION TO THEIR EFFECT ON  
OUR FUNDAMENTAL ALLIANCE RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE  
AND JAPAN."

EDITOR: GEORGE BALL CONSIDERS WHAT HE VIEWS AT THE SHORT-TERM  
PRAGMATISM OF THE KISSINGER POLICIES AS THE BASIC FLAW.  
HE CALLS APPROACH PRIMARILY SELF-CENTERED AND UNILATERAL,  
AND LACED WITH ISOLATIONISM. HE WRITES "IT IS NOT ONLY  
FORMULATED WITHOUT THE ADVICE OF OUR ALLIES, BUT EXECUTED  
WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT AND OFTEN AGAINST THEIR BETTER  
JUDGEMENT."

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MISTER BALL ADVOCATES THE FORMULATION OF A COLLECTIVE  
POLICY WITHIN A WIDENING GROUP OF LIKE-MINDED NATIONS.  
INITIALLY, HE BELIEVES THE CORE OF SUCH A GROUP SHOULD  
BE THE PRINCIPAL ATLANTIC NATIONS THAT ARE TODAY MEMBERS  
OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. HE SAYS THAT AS MUCH AS

EDITOR: POSSIBLE, JAPAN SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO ALLIED COUNCILS,  
(CONT) PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO PROBLEMS IN ASIA OR THE  
PACIFIC.

THE AUTHOR FINDS IN LACKING PRESENT AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY A STRONG MORAL BASIS WHICH HE SAYS WOULD BE  
IN ACCORD WITH THE "INSTINCTIVE MORALITY OF AMERICANS."  
HE SEES IN DOCTOR KISSINGER'S CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
A DIPLOMACY HE DESCRIBES AS "BASED MERELY ON THE  
MANIPULATION OF POWER WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ANY ACCEPTED  
BODY OF RULES OR PRINCIPLES."

MISTER BALL WANTS TO SEE THE MACHINERY OF THE STATE  
DEPARTMENT OVERHAULED SO THAT INSTEAD OF ONE "LONELY  
COWBOY" HANDLING ONE PROBLEM AT A TIME, THE RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS WOULD BE AGAIN DELEGATED  
THROUGHOUT THE ECHELONS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT. THE  
AUTHOR RIDICULES THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S DEFINITION  
OF DETENTE AND DEMANDS AN END TO WHAT HE CALLS  
"APPEASEMENT" OF AN OVERRATED SOVIET UNION. IF DETENTE  
IS TO MEAN ANYTHING, GEORGE BALL ARGUES, IT SHOULD BE  
USED TO OBTAIN CONCESSIONS FROM MOSCOW IN EXCHANGE  
FOR THE FOOD, TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL IT SO BADLY NEEDS  
FROM THE UNITED STATES.

THE AUTHOR ALSO URGES THAT, AS A LESSON FROM VIETNAM,  
THE UNITED STATES STOP TREATING EVERY LOCAL ISSUE AS THE  
OCCASION FOR A PROXY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

EDITOR:  
(CONT)

A MAJOR PORTION OF THE BOOK DEALS WITH THE THREAT OF AN EVER-GROWING WORLD POPULATION AND A LESSENING OF FOOD SUPPLIES. THE AUTHOR SEES TREMENDOUS DANGERS IN THE POPULATION PRESSURES WHICH COULD UNDERMINE POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN POOR COUNTRIES. THIS PROBLEM HE SAYS, IS EXACERBATED BY, THE MASSIVE PROLIFERATIONS OF WEAPONS. GEORGE BALL PICTURES A WORLD IN WHICH DESPERATELY POOR AND OVERPOPULATED NATIONS COULD ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE ASKS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE AN EXTREMELY HARD LINE AGAINST NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AS WELL AS THE SALE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS TO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. HE WANTS THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, BUT NOT SIMPLY BY SENDING FOOD TO UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS. HE THINKS THE U.S. SHOULD HELP THOSE COUNTRIES DEVELOP THEIR OWN FOOD SUPPLIES AND CONTROL THEIR POPULATION INCREASES.

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P.T.,  
INSTEAD OF THE COLD-WAR JUSTIFICATIONS OF THE PAST, GEORGE BALL BELIEVES THAT CONSIDERATIONS OF COMPASSION AND JUSTICE SHOULD SPUR AMERICANS TO PROVIDE A MINIMUM OF ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE AID FIGURE HE SUGGESTS IS ONE PERCENT OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT.

HIS MOST EXTENSIVE CRITICISM OF THE KISSINGER POLICIES IS DIRECTED AGAINST STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. MISTER BALL ELABORATES ON PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED VIEWS, IN ARTICLES AND SPEECHES, THAT PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH COMMON ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, NOT

EDITOR:  
(CONT)

BY THE IMMEDIATE PARTIES THEMSELVES. MISTER BALL ARGUES FOR A UNITED STATES POSITION, OPENLY EXPRESSED, THAT ISRAEL MUST ABIDE BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, THAT IS, ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL TO SUBSTANTIALLY THE BORDERS EXISTING PRIOR TO THE 1967 WAR. HE SAYS THE UNITED STATES, HAVING FORCEFULLY EXPRESSED ITS OWN VIEW, SHOULD WORK WITH ITS WESTERN ALLIES AND THE SOVIET UNION FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF, OR AT LEAST NO OPPOSITION TO, A SETTLEMENT BEFORE ANY FORMAL OR INFORMAL MEETING OF THE PARTIES. MISTER BALL DOES NOT DIRECTLY SUGGEST THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD FORCE SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON ISRAEL. BUT HE DOES SAY: "ONCE THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS LAID OUT THE TERMS OF SETTLEMENT, EVERY EFFORT SHORT OF MILITARY FORCE, SHOULD, I THINK, BE EMPLOYED TO BRING ABOUT ACCEPTANCE."

CONSIDERING THE WELL-KNOWN POSITION OF ISRAEL ON SUCH SETTLEMENT TERMS, AND THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE GREAT MAJORITY IN CONGRESS, AS WELL AS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM AND MISTER CARTER HIMSELF, IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW MISTER BALL COULD SELL HIS VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT. BUT MISTER BALL REMAINS FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, FAR FROM EASING THE ROAD TO FINAL SETTLEMENT HAS DISCREDITED EGYPT'S MODERATING INFLUENCE ON THE OTHER ARAB STATES, LEAVING NEGOTIATIONS TO THE MORE RADICAL STATES WHICH ARE SO DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE THAT THEY ARE INCAPABLE OF DIPLOMATIC FLEXIBILITY. ON THIS COMPLEX QUESTION, HE WRITES:

VOICE: "THE ISRAELI HOPE OF MAINTAINING PRESENT BORDERS, IS BASED ON AN ILLUSION, BECAUSE, IN THE LONG RUN, THE EFFORT TO KEEP POSSESSION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS MORE LIKELY TO UNDERMINE THAN ASSIST ISRAELI SECURITY."

EDITOR: THE AUTHOR MINCES NO WORDS IN HIS OFTEN BITING CRITICISM OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S AIMS AND METHODS. AND WHATEVER THE READER'S VIEWS ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, MISTER BALL'S BOOK, IN THIS ELECTION YEAR, IS WORTH CLOSE STUDY.

ANNCR: YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA WEEKLY PROGRAM, FROM THE BOOKSHELF, IN WHICH WE REPORT ON BOOKS AMERICANS ARE READING. TODAY'S SELECTION WAS "DIPLOMACY FOR A CROWDED WORLD" BY GEORGE BALL. JOIN US AGAIN NEXT WEEK ... (AT THIS TIME) FOR ANOTHER SELECTION FROM THE BOOKSHELF. THIS IS \_\_\_\_\_.

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